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OCTOBER, 1900

5 cents a copy

A thinking peasant
means a tottering
throne.—Parker.

BELLAMY

REVIEW

The first of its
kind ever published
in this country.—
New York Journal.

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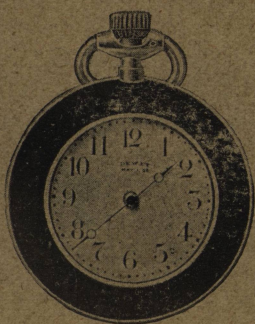
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EDWIN MARKHAM

who smote the conscience of the world with the "Man with the Hoe." Read it. Do you not think this publication would interest you, also?

BROOKLYN, N. Y., 545 Third St., Sept. 10, 1900.

To the Editor of the Bellamy Review:

Month by month I am reading your liberal and instructive Magazine. It is highly stimulating and suggestive in its treatment of the difficult and anxious problems of industry now confronting the world.

Very sincerely yours,

EDWIN MARKHAM.

BELLAMY REVIEW

VOL. I

OCTOBER, 1900

NO. 7

WHAT IMPERIALISM MEANS TO WOMEN

By Lydia Kingsmill Commander

To men imperialism is a question of government; to women it is a question of the right to be human beings and live human lives.

Imperialism is built on militarism, its strength is in its army. For the army there must be men, men in crowding thousands, so many men that women must give themselves utterly up to the task of supplying them.

The strident harsh call of the canon is "Produce, Produce, that I may slay! Give, give of the fruit of your body that I may feast!"—and women must bear and bear that the monster may be satisfied.

So in a military nation women have no HUMANITY, they have only sex; they are not PEOPLE, they are only WOMEN; they are not HALF THE RACE, they are only the MATERIAL FROM WHICH THE RACE IS MADE.

Freidrich Neitzsche, the philosopher of brutal German imperialism, says: "Everything in woman hath one answer, the child," and "man shall be educated for war and woman for the warrior."

A writer of the sixteenth century,

when militarism was rampant, said: "If a woman becomes weary, or at last dead, from bearing, that matters not; let her only die from bearing, she is there to do it."

Napoleon, who in the highest degree embodied the military idea, was asked by the brilliant Mme. De Stael what kind of woman he most admired.

"Madame," was the reply of the man who had caused the death of millions, to the woman whose brains commanded the admiration of Europe, "the greatest woman is she who has most sons."

The one standard by which a soldier, or a soldier nation, can judge a woman is by the number of her sons; but only by their NUMBER, never by their QUALITY. She must give men for the cannon, men for the field, but they need not be men in any sense but the lowest.

What does the soldier want of soul? It will soon be marching on. What does he need of brain? For him is not to think, but to obey. Why should he have manhood? The best soldier

excels in the virtue of the slave—unquestioning obedience.

"His not to reason why;
His but to do and die."

Almost all that makes a good soldier makes a bad citizen. The man who has been trained to submit to a general is ready to yield, puppet-like, to a political boss. He has become used to being a cog in the machine instead of a thinking, independent being. HE IS FITTED TO BE A SUBJECT IN AN EMPIRE, BUT NOT TO BE A CITIZEN OF A FREE REPUBLIC.

But woman's fulfilment of her task of supplying soldiers does not bring her honor. Though by her sex activity she is judged, for her sex she is despised.

Being, of herself nothing, and of value only for the sons she can produce, her work receives the same low estimate given to herself. She and her task are alike despised and considered inferior.

From birth her daughters share the contempt in which she, as an individual, is held. A girl baby is nothing but the material from which, at some future day, men may be made. At present she but represents a man delayed, and her coming is greeted with impatience.

When woman's only, or greatest value, is in her reproductive powers, marriage comes early, leaving no time for the development of mind and soul, the ripening and enriching of the nature that deepens and strengthens a woman's individuality and fits her for a splendid motherhood.

Marriage too is held up as, in itself, the prize of life, the goal of woman's ambition. Not marriage in any high

or true sense, not marriage that brings out the best and noblest of the nature, but ANY marriage, because marriage gives legal sanction to reproduction.

But while militarism makes it imperative that women marry, it also renders it difficult for them to do so. The scarcity of men caused by the constant drain of the army puts a premium on a husband. When there are fewer men than women, plainly some women must remain single.

Of all unfortunates in a military nation none are more to be pitied than these. The unmarried woman fails to give the only acceptable excuse for living, and no heaped-up contumely can ever fully express the contempt in which she is held.

The inequality in the numbers of the sexes of itself gives to men an artificial value. What is scarce is highly prized.

In Germany and England where the army annually carries away thousands of men, they are looked upon both by themselves and by women as superior beings.

In the Klondike, where men are largely in the majority women are considered but little lower than the angels.

Both conditions are artificial. In normal circumstances men and women are of equal value. That nature so intends is shown by the fact that the sexes are born in equal numbers.

This equality of numbers can only be preserved in a peaceful nation, one whose chief glory does not lie in pouring out the blood of its sons upon the battlefield.

But no nation can be permanently peaceful unless it is self-governing and does not need a great standing army to bolster up its rulers. PEACE CANNOT BE BUILT UPON IMPERIALISM.

But a peaceful civilization is not of value to women only, or chiefly, because it restores the equilibrium of numbers, but because it gives to them a place in the national life.

Where militarism rules women can have no part in the race activities, for war and women are, by their very natures, opposed. The mother of the race can never take part in the lavish and wanton destruction of life. It is her instinct to preserve what she has, at so great a cost to herself, produced. There remains to her then only her sex life. It is the one outlet for her energies.

In times of peace this is changed. The arts progress, knowledge grows and invention flourishes. The crudities of a primitive peoples pass away and life becomes complex and highly organized. The difference is as that between the stone hammer and the gold chronometer.

In such a civilization the call is for people who can think and plan and execute, people of a high type. The standard of value is not brawn, but brain, not sex, but ability.

Then woman, with her keen perception, her quick intuition, her fineness of discrimination, her delicacy of touch, becomes of value to the nation, not vicariously, but for herself. Instead of a mere sexed annex to humanity she is a human being among human beings.

So the world opens up to her and she becomes a factor of the national.

She takes part in industry, business, politics, education, literature, and art.

She gains in strength and gives her tenderness. Breadth of outlook comes to her but clearness of insight flows out from her. The world teaches her to distinguish fact from fancy and destroys much of her cherished superstition and sentimentality, but in return the world learns of her that love is just as real as mathematics and a great deal more important.

Having value as an individual she is no longer dependent upon the exercise of her sex functions to excuse her existence. She can remain single if she chooses without criticism. If she marries she expects as much as she gives. Her marriage must develop her not stunt and dwarf her.

Her duty as mother of the race is entirely changed. The society of which she is a part wants only clever, capable, highly developed members. Others are a burden and a detriment; there is no place for them.

Under such conditions to bring a child into the world is a tremendous act, fraught with serious and far-reaching consequences. Motherhood is a high and sacred responsibility, in accepting which the woman gives fully and freely of all that is best within her.

Over her task the mother lingers long and lovingly, planning, thinking, studying, that she may give to her child the highest heritage that it lies within her power to bestow, for IN A NON-MILITARY NATION IT IS A CRIME AGAINST SOCIETY TO PRODUCE A STUPID OR IMMORAL CHILD.

With the improvement of the type comes a corresponding decrease in

numbers. This is the inexorable law of nature. The spider produces hundreds at a birth, the cat four or five, the elephant one. The primitive family is large; its numbers lessen as civilization advances. As people become individually valuable they grow less prolific.

Then the mother's task is better performed, but it makes less demand upon her time and gives her an opportunity for personal ambition and a life of her own.

Hitherto this country has held ideals of peace and the self-government which alone can maintain it. Therefore to American women have come the greatest opportunities that

have been seen in any modern civilization.

Now imperialism, with its attendant warfare, threatens to overthrow democracy and progress in the arts of peace.

To men this is a question of ruling or being ruled. To women it is a question of being counted human.

Its decision determines whether women shall be valued for their bodies or for their brains; for their sex, which they possess in common with rabbits, cows, and tabby cats, or for their HUMANITY, which is the priceless heritage of all the evolution of the long, long ages.

COULD LOVE BUT RULE

BY MISS MARTHA SHEPARD LIPPINCOTT.

"Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn."
How true these words have proved to be,
How many made forlorn,
How lack of love and charity
Have filled the world with woe!
Oh, would that men could ever learn
Christ's mercy, sweet, to know.

How souls so innocent of crime
Have such injustice known,
And those who held controlling hand
So little mercy shown.
'Tis sad how avarice and greed
Have so much sorrow brought,
When all might be such happiness,
Were Christ's sweet lessons taught.

Oh! when shall love e'er rule the world,
And make life sweet, indeed,
And fill our lives with peace and joy
And blessings that we need?
When shall man's inhumanity,
To kindness, e'er be changed,
So that for love and happiness
Our lives may be arranged?

Moorestown, N. J.

THE HAND OF STEEL

BY REV. F. L. HAYDEN, D. D.

"He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword."

"The Son of Man came not to destroy men's lives but to save them."

God "is kind to the unthankful and the evil."

These are words of Jesus spoken in his attempt to make men understand the nature of God and His government on the earth—of the kingdom he had come to establish among men.

Rome had gotten world power, and then maintained it, by the sword. In all the world brute force was the engine of conquest. The power of the newly-established kingdom of heaven was not of this sort. Even the disciples of Christ were slow to understand that the coming victories of their king were not to be won, and His prophesied world dominion was not to be secured, by resort to any such means. "The weapons of your warfare are not carnal." On the night when He was to conquer the arch enemy of God and man BY SURRENDER and become the "king immortal" THROUGH HIS DEATH the disciples were armed and ready to "smite with the sword" to enforce his claims to kingship. His so-called disciples today are slow to learn the same lesson. The dominant spirit of the day is the

martial spirit. We send our missionaries to convert the heathen and the government sends our soldiers to kill him, and to the most of us it makes but little difference which reaches him first, the bible or the gun. To the Tagale we send a priest, a soldier, and a beer bottle. Magnificent trinity to represent Christian America! We levy tribute upon every toiler to build the most tremendous engines of war and train and maintain a host of the most skillful takers of men's lives. Christian America! Out upon such a travesty upon the name of the "Prince of peace."

"But is war never allowable?" one asks. Yes, under certain conditions. As a viper whose sting means death must be killed to protect human life, so a viper nation might require the bullet of the executioner. But who dare say any existing nation is such a menace to the highest life of the race! Who dare say the hand of America is so stainless that the death-dealing stone must needs be cast by her hand! Who dare say the patience of God with the non-Christian nations has been exhausted!

Now I wish to submit a few propositions based upon the principles, the direct utterances, of the Book of Books and ask the kindly considera-

tion of the reader. The heavenly Father patiently instructs His ignorant children to win them to light and truth, and until such means have proven inadequate or the instruction has been rejected by the pupil, he will not substitute the sword for the Book. He is patient with the erring, and until the sinning child has proven to be incorrigably vicious His patience is not exhausted. For the recreant one He expresses the tender spirit of mercy, and not upon a soul upon the earth does He visit the severe exactions of justice. In the person of His Son He received the infliction of suffering even to the agonizing death of Calvary rather than inflict suffering upon another.

And what He did for us He bids us do for each other. He tells us to "bear one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ." To "be patient with all men"—"not rendering evil for evil," but rather "good for evil." To "suffer wrong" rather than do wrong. In view of these facts I ask, does he now direct a despotism of the sword? Does he now instruct us how to lay the burdens of fear, anger, passion, debauchery, and death upon the weaker brother? The thought is an insult to our Father! And yet, in the name of a Christian nation, we are laying this burden upon the yellow and brown sons of the common Father. We are instituting just this despotism. Our hand of steel attempts to sweep the world.

My contention is not that the conditions prevailing in the world do not warrant, nor call for, an aggressive policy on the part of the civilized governments! Not that the non-Christian nations occupy that high moral, intellectual, and spiritual plane suggested by our Christian civilization. My contention rather is that the military policy adopted by us is unchristian—barbaric rather than civilized or civilizing. That the spirit of CONTROL FOR THE PURPOSE OF COMMERCIAL GAIN is unworthy a people of our position and possessions. That so long as our conduct with the weaker peoples of the earth is characterized by this spirit we can not wisely nor effectively urge upon their attention and for their acceptance the religion of Jesus Christ. Their admonition to us might very fitly be: "Physician, heal thyself."

My contention is further, that God has made it possible for us to give the highest life to the world. The broadest culture is ours! Knowledge of man's worth, powers, and destiny, is ours. The spirit that wins allegiance to God by its beauty and the delights it bestows is ours in the gospel of Christ. To lead and instruct and inspire those who have lesser light and gifts until they also shall possess this princely heritage of love and truth, that is our rightful place. Certainly we are derelict to duty if we do otherwise or less than this.

A DREAM OF THE GODS

By Margaret Holmes Bates,

Author of "The Chamber over the Gate," "Shylock's
Daughter," "Jasper Fairfax," "The
Price of the Ring," etc.

Young Ariel watched the sun go down,
And the shadows cool and gray
Steal up the valley and over the town;
Then she crept where the deepest lay.

The livelong day her enemy's tongue
Had laden the air with stings;
His words to her heart and memory clung
As the poison ivy clings;

And when on her pillow she laid her head
In her helplessness she wept
The tears of the lone, un comforted;
And 'twas hours before she slept.

But, far in the night, when deep sleep fell
On the race that grieves and plods,
Her soul walked forth to the lands where dwell
The immortal, sleepless gods.

The air was misty with human tears
And heavy with human cares;
A clamor of shrieks and curses and jeers
Rose above the murmured prayers.

There the silent gods moved to and fro,
And sifted with powerful hands
The sins and wrongs, the weal and woe
Like to children sifting sands.

Their strong calm eyes never weary grew
And their grasp let nothing fall;
Were it mountain weight or a drop of dew,
They with justice measured all.

Two walked apart with low-bowed heads
And in meditation long;
They held in their hands the tangled threads
Of a grievous human wrong.

They marked the trend of each spiteful
thought
That ran through the warp and woof;
The evil by malice and falsehood wrought;
And that soul, standing there aloof,

In awful wonder and silence gazed;
So patient and wise she'd grown;
The gods are just; and she stood amazed;
That great wrong was her own.

Next fair sweet day, in his wrath and spite
Came again her enemy;
She answered, "The gods of truth and right
Are judging twixt thee and me."

COMMON-SENSE ABOUT EXPANSION

By Herbert N. Casson

There is a natural and healthy and inevitable expansion which no political party can prevent—that which comes from the cheapening of travel, the opening up new markets, the removal of national prejudices, and the broadening of ideas. Our citizens are to be found in every land; our ships sail into every port; our products are on sale in almost every market.

This sort of expansion is no more Republican or Democratic than it is Methodist or Presbyterian. It would not be prevented even though every voter in America became an anti-expansionist. It is foolish to cry "We must not be a hermit nation any longer;" for we could not be if we tried. It is not a political faction which has pushed us forward into world-politics. The cause of expansion is not the "statesmanship" of Mr. McKinley and Long and Alger and Hay. It is the steamboat, the railroad, the cable, the newspaper, the the complex network of a commerce that has become international.

Our war with Spain simply hastened a situation which had to come sooner or later; long before the Spanish war we had made a beginning by laying hold of Alaska and Hawaii. Whether we approved of it or not, the swallowing of islands and weak

nations by the great nations is as inevitable as the swallowing of small stores by department stores. The world-tendency that wipes out the Boer Republic, dethrones Queen Lil-iukalani and partitions China, is the same as that which bankrupts the small manufacturer and deprives the commercial traveler of his job.

A passion for organization and concentration has seized the United States and Northern Europe. A resistless energy is working its way out into new and untried forms of co-operation. A sort of commercial fury has seized a part of the human race, and it is vehemently insisting that the rest of the human race shall do business.

This is not a peculiarly American phenomenon; and most certainly to connect its origin with a political party in this country is the most benighted provincialism. As well might Lord Salisbury and his Cabinet claim credit for the Gulf Stream.

We are bound to expand. We are bound to make entangling alliances. We are bound to pick up islands and hold out our hand for our slice of China. The trust of nations is being formed, and we can't keep out of it and survive.

No matter what we prefer, this is the inexorable fact. To advocate or

to denounce it is to waste breath. To make it a party issue is to make politics a Lilliputian farce.

The real issue is not expansion versus non-expansion. It is whether the United States will be represented in the coming "Parliament of man" by servants of the people or by agents of the trusts.

We must co-operate with other civilized countries in their kindergartening of the younger or more stupid nations, but—and here is the vital difference we must co-operate as AMERICANS.

Let us go as far away from home as we please, but never travel without the Declaration of Independence in our pocket. Let us take part in the instruction of the backward nations, but let us teach from text-books of our own, and not adopt those of Germany and Russia. Let our representatives sit at the international council-table, but let them represent peace, liberty, self-government, democracy.

The Emperor of Germany sends his troops to China with the savage command—"Kill and spare not." If we are obliged to send troops to protect our citizens who live abroad, our command should be "Spare and kill not." When every rational means has been exhausted, and war is inevitable, then let us fight; not like a Terry McGovern or Tom Sharkey,—glorying in the blood and violence; but rather like a Whittier or Thoreau who uses his fists only as a hateful last resort.

We had far better be a "hermit nation", far better burn our docks and cut our cables and break up our industrial organizations, and ruralize our cities, and restore and stereotype the conditions of 1865, than be a trans-Atlantic fragment of Europe, applauding and furthering the pestilent plans of Kings and Billionaires.

The men who are now in charge of our National affairs are not representative Americans. They do not represent the 75,000,000 who pay their salaries. Neither Theodore Roosevelt, nor McKinley since he has been President, has ever uttered a sentiment that would not have fitted the mouth of Chamberlain or Caprivi.

If we are going to export civilization let us export the right brand. Let us send teachers and scientists and mechanics to the backward nations. Let us load our outgoing ships with books, machinery and useful merchandise.

If we raise the Stars and Stripes in foreign countries, let us have it float over a school or a hospital or a library, not over a fort or a saloon.

But if we cannot co-operate with European nations without shooting and stabbing and bomb-throwing and all the military anarchism which has made history a chronicle of horrors, then let us stay at home until we have learned more sense and more democracy.

New York City.

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OCTOBER, 1900.

In rechristening our Review we have chosen a name that cannot be bettered. We count ourselves very fortunate in being the first to use it.

No man has done as much as Edward Bellamy to open the eyes of the people to that vision of social justice and good-will which every prophet has beheld.

Without uttering an angry syllable he has shown the horrors of the struggle for wealth.

Without ceasing for a moment to be guided by common sense, he has given us a picture of society as it might be, if it were based on equality and labor.

Without the use of a word which the ordinary reader could not understand, he has made plain certain eco-

nomic laws which professors and philosophers have vainly tried to make clear, either to other people or to themselves.

He had clearer and keener sight than the over-praised Marx. His idealism never became whimsical, as was the case with William Morris.

His abhorrence of present evils never warped him to reactionary convictions, as happened to John Ruskin.

Unlike Lasalle, he never allowed his passion for the poor to become a flame of destructive revolution; and unlike Henry George, on the other hand, he never became so heavily practical that he neglected his ideal in the attempt to secure a small immediate reform.

Though an explorer in unmapped fields of thought, he never preferred ideas to men, as did Emerson and Carlyle. And though in many senses the most extreme of social reformers, his indignation never became bitter and frenzied, as did that of William Lloyd Garrison.

Edward Bellamy was one of the sanest men of the century. No prophet ever spoke his message as wisely or as well as did the modest seer of Chicopee Falls.

As the years roll on, men will speak less of his imagination and more of his practical sense. One of the problems of the history classes in the twenty-third century will be why the people of today chose such men as Cleveland and Harrison for president while such a statesman as Bellamy was to be had.

In the first number of Mr. Bellamy's paper, "The New Nation," issued on Jan. 31, 1891, he wrote as the lead-

ing editorial the following prophecy. We accept it as the aim and inspiration of this Review.

In the New Nation, work will not be warfare, but fraternal co-operation toward a store in which all will share. Human effort, no longer wasted by battle and cross-purposes, will create an abundance previously impossible.

In the New Nation there will be neither rich nor poor; all will be equal partners in the product of the national industrial organization.

In the New Nation, the dependence of the one sex upon another for livelihood, which now poisons love and gives lust its opportunity, will be forever at an end. As equal and independent partners in the product of the nation, women will have attained an economical enfranchisement, without which no political device could help them. Prostitution will be a forgotten horror.

In the New Nation, there will be no unemployed. All will be enabled and required to do their part according to their gifts, save only those whom age, sickness, or infirmity has exempted; and these, no longer as now trodden under foot, will be served and guarded as tenderly as are the wounded in battle by their comrades.

In the New Nation, the children will be cherished as precious jewels, inestimable pledges of the divine love to man. Though mother and father forsake them, the nation will take them up.

In the New Nation, education will be equal and universal, and will cover the entire period of life during which it is now enjoyed by the most favored classes.

In the New Nation, the wasting of the people's heritage will cease, the forests will be replanted, the rivers and seas re-populated, and fertility restored to exhausted lands. The natural resources of the country will be cared for and preserved as a common estate, and one to which the living have title only as trustees for the unborn.

In the New Nation, the debauching influence of wealth being banished, and the people raised to a real equality by equal education and resources, a true democratic and popular government will become possible as it never

was before. For the first time in history the world will behold a true republic, rounded, full-orbed, complete,—a republic, social, industrial, political.

H. N. C.

The Future of Bryanism. "Is Socialism an Element of 'Bryanism?'"

by Albert Watkins, of Lincoln, Nebraska, is one of the features of the September number of the Arena.

The article is as good as people have any right to expect and ordinarily no attention would be paid to it.

But the fact has been published to the world that the percentage of illiteracy is smaller in Nebraska than that of any other State in the Union, and there is a State reputation to be maintained; and when one of our own writers makes a bad mistake and exhibits an apparently inexcusable ignorance of what he is writing about, the BELLAMY REVIEW will be sure to come to his defense with the proper excuses and explanations.

In the article Mr. Watkins speaks of himself as a conservative, and he speaks the words of truth and soberness. His conservatism is all his own and he came honestly by it. It was because of his conservatism that he was appointed postmaster at Lincoln by that very conservative president, Mr. Cleveland.

Some one has said: "If you are right, you can't be too radical—if you are wrong, you can't be too conservative." Mr. Watkins is wrong, therefore his conservatism is all right.

The fact is quite clearly established by Mr. Watkins that there is not Socialism enough in Mr. Bryan's creed to make him dangerous to the prop-

erty interest, and very reasonably he concludes that "he undoubtedly retains the traditional or instinctive spirit of individualism inherited from a Democratic ancestry."

But Mr. Bryan has done one thing for which he deserves and will receive the thanks of the whole country—and not the country only but the whole world, and perhaps the good influence may extend to some of the near-by planets. He has succeeded in prying the Democratic party loose from its old conservative anchorage, and has actually brought it up in line as a party of progress. As a whole, the job was neatly done, but he has heartlessly left a few old-timers clinging to the anchor, among whom is our own J. Sterling Morton, who is now publishing a little paper down at Nebraska City called *The Conservative*.

The fact is that Bryanism is much more radical than Bryan himself. He has been and is now the spokesman of a political movement which will ultimately accomplish larger results than those aimed at in the Kansas City platform.

Bryan may not be the coming Lincoln who shall emancipate all wage-slaves, both white and black; but he is very probably the Fremont who shall prepare the way for the future workingman's President.

Bryan is doing a great many useful things that have to be done before we are ready for a new social system. He has cast out devils in his own party and raised a few of the dead in the Republican party. He has introduced the real issue—the Man against the Dollar.

Bryanism is a living growing move-

ment. In two years it has grown from free-silverism to anti-imperialism and anti-monopoly. Give it a few years more and it will evolve into a clear definite belief in, public ownership of trusts. Best of all, it encourages sympathy with the wronged workers and study of all economic questions.

There is somewhere in this universe a plan or system of government that will be absolutely just to all and if we diligently seek for it we will surely find it. All agree that present conditions may be improved upon, that cruel wrongs exist that should have no place among an enlightened people.

There seems to be no way of judging of others except by ourselves, and we very reasonably conclude that the headache, for instance, produces the same disagreeable sensation in all. A dishonest man who, after thorough examination, finds no traces of honesty in himself, very naturally and reasonably comes to the conclusion that there is no such thing as honesty in the world. Mr. Watkins, after inspecting his conservative self, and finding therein none of the qualities necessary to make Socialism practical, correctly infers that "general Socialism is a millennial ideality." But the man who in a public speech declared that he expected to find happiness in doing good to others, is dangerously near to Socialism, although he may not realize his danger.

You might read the
 Why Should the New York daily papers
 Cities Rule? and monthly magazines
 for a year and never notice a dozen

articles about farmers and their interests.

There are often vague references to people who live "out in the country;" and stock market allusions to the wheat crop, as if wheat fell down from the clouds into the Chicago and St. Paul elevators every autumn.

Our city ideas of beef never get further back than the beef trust; we imagine that oatmeal grows in neat cardboard boxes on trees; we ask for "all wool" stockings without remembering that wool has anything to do with sheep.

When the typical city-man travels, the long stretches of field and woods between the cities is always a disconcerting surprise. It seems to him as if a shockingly large area of land was being wasted.

The American nation to him consists of a score or more of large cities, with inconsequential gaps between them.

The city editor (especially when the real estate market is dull) writes leaders on the "drift citywards."

When a candidate is to be nominated for any exalted public office it is taken for granted that he is to be a city man. Mr. Bryan is not an exception to this rule, as his farming is regarded by all dwellers in cities to be only a fad or a trick to catch rustic voters.

But, according to the recent census, only 33 per cent of our people live in cities and large towns. The "drift citywards" has scarcely affected our cities since 1890. The proportion at that time was 29 per cent.

Fifty millions of our people live in villages or on farms, and only twenty-

five millions in cities. Yet how many farmers and villagers are there in Congress and the Senate?

What national issue is being discussed from the farmer's point of view? What large plan for helping the man with the plow has been devised by McKinley and his cabinet?

Is it not a fact that the whole nation, composed mainly of farms and villages, is being ruled by a few cities, and that the cities in their turn are ruled by a few individuals?

Yet we are supposed to have a REPRESENTATIVE form of government! If the average voter could realize how entirely opposed to his interests our public officials are, there would be an uprising more iconoclastic than the Revolution of '76. H. N. C.

It is a fact, but not an alarming fact, that the big railroad corporations are fast swallowing up the small railroad companies. The New York Central Railroad Company practically own and control the Northwestern system and the Union Pacific railroad, giving them a continuous line from the Atlantic to the Pacific and a trackage, including the feeders of all three systems, of about 25,000 miles. These figures seem big but not necessarily alarming.

At the present rate of consolidation there will be about half a dozen railroad companies when the next United States census is taken, and combined they will be able to dictate, not only the freight and passenger rates, but all other legislation of the country as well. A railroad that is less than 2,000 miles long finds it hard sledding

with all the other big corporations knifing it on every hand; and for them it is not difficult to make a bankrupt company out of a good paying property and fit it for the absorbing process.

Seventeen men, the heads of as many railroad companies, practically control the travel and commerce of this nation; but the people of today do not look upon this consolidation with special alarm, because they consider the question of government ownership as practically settled. There can be no other solution. Where is the man who has ever advanced any other practical idea? College professors and ministers whose opinions are purchased by gifts to their schools and their churches may continue to tell us that these rich men are the salt of the land, and that government ownership of our transportation facilities is a failure to start with; and they will continue to find a few of the gullables ready to swallow these statements as disinterested facts.

The great mass, however, know that government ownership must come and that the time is not far distant. You will find a hundred such people today where there was not one a year ago, and there are thousands who are ready to break away from their party moorings whenever this question is fairly and squarely presented as a party measure for settlement. But, as things now stand, both the leading parties are controlled by the railroad corporations, and railroad passes are the things that count and win.

The great New York Journal is touching the popular chord with some splendid articles on Socialism.

The following table, which is supposed to show the number of Socialists in eleven countries, is being printed in the Socialist papers of this country:

In 1898 United States.....	91,740
" 1898 Germany.....	2,250,000
" 1895 Great Britain.....	55,000
" 1897 Switzerland.....	36,460
" 1897 Spain.....	28,000
" 1897 Italy.....	134,490
" 1895 Servia.....	50,000
" 1898 France.....	1,000,000
" 1898 Denmark.....	32,000
" 1898 Belgium.....	524,320
" 1897 Austria.....	750,000

Nothing could be more misleading and preposterous than the above figures. They merely represent the number of votes obtained by certain political parties which called themselves Socialist parties.

In every country the word "Socialist" means a different thing. In Germany and Italy it means resistance to militarism and absolutism. In Spain it means antagonism to both church and throne. In Belgium it means political equality. In Servia it means self-government. In France it means the preservation of the republic. In Great Britain and Switzerland it means better labor laws. In the United States it means public ownership of trusts.

According to the above table it would appear that the United States is less Socialistic than Germany, France, Austria, Belgium and Italy.

Switzerland, the most progressive country in Europe, is ranked away below Servia, where political freedom is unknown.

Germany, where free speech and

local self-government are denied, is credited with 24 times as many Socialists as this country.

A better arrangement of these eleven countries would be as follows:

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| 1. Switzerland, | 6. Denmark, |
| 2. United States, | 7. Germany, |
| 3. Great Britain, | 8. Austria, |
| 4. Belgium, | 9. Italy, |
| 5. France, | 10. Servia, |
| 11. Spain. | |

No election ever yet held has shown the full strength of American Socialism. Perhaps the greater number of Socialists here do not believe in third parties except as a last resort.

Moreover the attitude of the average third-party-Socialist has hitherto been so defiant and quarrelsome that co-operation with him has been impossible.

The fact is that a belief in the superiority of public ownership to trust ownership is to be found in every city street and village grocery in America.

Not thousands, but millions of our citizens believe that it is better for the people to own and operate the trusts than for the trusts to own and operate the people.

But neither the man nor the occasion has yet come, that can chrystalize Socialistic sentiment into action.

H. N. C.

Notwithstanding the attempt of the Czar to stop the growth of Socialistic thought in Russia, the Russian Government continues to demonstrate the beneficent workings of Socialism. Its latest move is to nationalize the liquor traffic in order to save its people from this evil. The first

move was to require innkeepers to furnish food "between drinks," so as to prevent patrons from taking one drink after another. No liquor is allowed to be sold on credit nor property taken in pledge for same. The Government has gone into the business in several cities and sells only bottled goods not to be consumed on the premises, and only the purest article is sold. License fees to private vendors have been increased from \$77 to \$556, thus curtailing the number issued fully one-half.

The Russian Government controls the manufacture, and it is stated that the Government saloon will ultimately drive out the private vendor. Already a marked decrease in intemperance is noted.

Nicholas is thus sowing good seed that will ultimately give his people a republican form of government, and it is safe to say that he will not be able to suppress free thought under such conditions.

The Socialists of Russia mingle their thoughts with their labors; hence progress is the result.

What are you going to tell your boy when he asks you what occupation you would recommend for him as a life work? Did you ever stop to consider that we are fast becoming a race of clerks? That individual opportunities are fast becoming things of the past? It would seem to be a rather heartless answer to tell him to just follow the "gang," but that is about the only thing left under our present system.

Socialism Improves Morals.

**Partisanship
Gone Mad.**

We are browbeaten, cajoled, honeyfugled and led to the slaughter. Partisanship is the bane of American politics. Through political bias we have seen political parties turn their backs upon their past history—advocating today what was denounced yesterday, trampling the teachings and tenets of dead leaders under foot and appealing to partisans to sustain them through a maudlin sentiment. Partisanship has gone mad. It has run riot in American politics. Experience has demonstrated that nothing can save us from this onslaught except the independent idea behind the ballot. The independent voter is the salt of the earth, and to him a bleeding country must look for salvation.

Capitalism is sowing the seeds of monarch in this country. It is not hard to find advocates for the change. Senator Hanna admires the English government. The national administration apes its policies. Militarism sees safety and perpetuity in a constitutional monarchy. A strong military arm is necessary for the peace and tranquility of colonies. Already a few newspapers begin to talk of a change from a republic to a monarchy for the protection of commerce. The Des Moines, Iowa, Globe speaks its mind: "Now is a good time for America to do away with her old obsolete constitution and adopt a form of government that will be logical with our new expansion ideas and will give ample protection to capital. We should not be disgraced in the sight of civilized nations as the violence and killing that accompany the operation of the street cars in St. Louis

now. A constitutional monarchy is probably the most desirable plan that we could now adopt. Every thing is ripe for the change. We have a large army and it can be increased under almost any pretense without causing alarm to the masses. This country has been so prosperous that the voters have lost that spirit of patriotism and honesty that are necessary to the successful operation of republics. The strong iron hand of discipline will have to be used to bring the masses to a full sense of proper behavior." This treasonable utterance falls unheeded.

**The Power of
the Trusts.**

The farmers of New York State are organizing a milk trust. At their last meeting one of their members sprang to his feet and shouted: "If we quit producing milk or hold our product from the market we can make a big graveyard of New York City." His statement was terribly true. Our present laws allow any necessary of life to be cornered by a gang of producers or schemers for profit.

There is nothing to prevent the farmers from combining and making EVERY city a big graveyard.

But let the farmers remember this, neither is there any law to prevent the plow trust and clothing trust and harness trust and wagon trust from combining to turn every farm into a little graveyard.

This is exactly what the trust means. It is obtaining the power to deprive others of their property and even their lives. It is the creation of a giant toll-gate across the road of life which men must travel.

Surely the wayfaring man though and individualist can see that such gates should not be private property.

H. N. C.

A Rule of National Credits.

Under a rule of national credits, as established in London, the average value of the promise to pay of an American merchant is 80 per cent; of an English merchant 85 per cent; of a German or Holland 90 per cent; of a Chinese or Japanese 95 per cent.

The pertinent question arising from a consideration of these facts is, does business honesty constitute a prominent factor in civilization?

If it does, it is humiliating to know that the American standard is 15 per cent below the "heathen Chinese."

Other questions would doubtless be involved in a full discussion of the problem; but is it not a fact that business relations are a surer indication of moral principle than social, civil, or religious questions, that are subject to a wider range of condition and influence?

View it as we may, it is a palpable rebuke, and a standing protest against the effrontery and arrogance of our political exploitation and religious proselyting.

Mayor Jones
Declaration of Independence.

Almost every voter in this country is either bossing or being bossed. We allow some editor or politician to make our opinions on politics just as we allow a tailor to make our clothes.

But Mayor S. M. Jones, of Toledo, thinks for himself. No poet can ever say of him what Goldsmith said of Edmund Burke—

"Born for the universe, he narrowed his mind,
And to party gave up what was meant for mankind."

Mr. Jones has recently issued a re-

markable non-partisan statement. He declares that he will vote for Bryan, but holds himself free at all times to act with or against any political party.

The most striking paragraph in his statement is the following:

I am a Socialist, and we believe that the hope of this nation and the world lies in brotherhood Socialism, not party Socialism. According to the light I have, and as best I know how I practice this belief. I believe that equality is the only basis of our hope. I am unable to see how it can ever be realized with a party program. I am for the Socialist propaganda, but not for a Socialist party. I know there are party Socialists and party Republicans who will find no trouble in "rid-dling" my arguments. To them I simply desire to say that I do not seek to impose my mode of politics or religion or life on them or on any one. I merely want to be a free soul and be true to the highest and best that is in me.

We recommend these noble words to those self-styled reformers and Socialists whose main object is to slander and ridicule all who will not assist them in building up a party or a clique or a colony
H. N. C.

It is about the time of year for the railroad companies to send special cars and railroad passes to the different judges of the country, so that they can take their annual fishing trips. By being prompt in this respect the companies will be able to secure an unbiased, unprejudiced decision that will be rendered in their cases later on.

J. Sterling Morton, ex-Secretary of Agriculture and editor of the "Conservative," has four sons, every one of whom is interested in a trust; and every one of them, father and all, has grown rich by being the favorite of railroads. Of course there is nothing wrong in their kind of trusts.

NOTES OF PROGRESS.

The Texas Socialists have put up a State ticket.

Waldenburg, Germany, sends a Socialist to Parliament.

Socialists have put tickets in the field in nearly every State.

The Socialists have a strong organization at Chatanooga, Tenn.

The Socialists of Vancouver, B. C., are growing so, they will erect a temple to be dedicated to mankind.

The authorities of St. Louis have ordered 1200 riot guns to shoot law and order into unpaid overworked labor.

George Rice, an experienced oil man, says the Standard Oil Trust sells oil for export for 5½ cents per gallon and to domestic wholesalers for 8½.

Ella Wheeler Wilcox, the well-known poetess, is writing on Socialism for the press. The real unselfish thinkers of the day are Socialists.

On the State-owned lines in Canada you can send a 100-word telegram 1,000 miles for 50 cents. The Canucks do their own thinking.

Dover, England, owns and operates its street cars. On 1-cent and 2-cent fares the net revenue to the city for last year was \$15,000.

The Czar of Russia has in one plantation 100,000,000 acres of land. It is no wonder that the Socialism of opportunity is growing in Russia.

Penny savings banks have been established by the Government in the Falkland Islands. These institutions encourage thrift even among school children.

On government-owned railroads in Australia first-class fare is \$6.50 per 1,000 miles. In this country you can travel 1,000 miles on a freight train for \$30.00, but doncherno we Americans believe in individualism and not in Socialism.

Don't be afraid of Socialism. The government has been producing it a century. We simply want more of the same kind. It is coming and you can't stay it. Bismark was glad to accept Socialism to save the German Empire from a Republic. It will come in this country to save the Republic from a monarchy.

There is a great strike of the miners in the anthracite coal regions. The toilers underground desire bread enough. The government should own and operate the mines. Then there would be no strikes and no coal famines.

Because the city authorities refuse to disobey the law the Kearney, Nebr., Water Works Company (a private monopoly) has shut off the water. It is a terrible thing to be at the mercy of greed.

The great German Socialist leader Liebknecht is dead. A procession of working men and Socialists followed his remains to their last resting place. No princes were in the train, but Berlin never before witnessed such a funeral.

Max S. Hays, Socialist candidate for congress in Cleveland, O., district was arrested there the other day for speaking for Socialism. This is a note of progress. When Garitson was stoned in Boston the shackles of slavery began to break.

Let every reader of the Review send in a new subscriber. Do this much for a cause that means so much to humanity. Last month two Socialists defrayed the expense of a club each. Go thou and do likewise.

The labor Unions of Cleveland Ohio and the miners of Canada have espoused the cause of Socialism. It is no wonder that the defenders of our industrial system are frightened.

The Lantern, Ft. Scott, Kansas, is out for Socialism. Three professors of Yale University have joined the army of progress.

Hernsey, England, owns 68 dwellings for the poor and will rent others.

In San Domingo the Socialists have organized for a campaign.

The Socialists of Omaha, Neb., elected the president of Central Labor Union.

More than half of the revenues of Prussia are derived from the earnings of the state owned railroads.

The Toiler, Terre Haute, Ind., a Socialist Journal published a handsome 16 page labor day edition.

The City Council of Galesburg, Ill., has voted to erect a municipal Electric light plant to cost \$40,000.

A committee of the City Council of New York City has recommended municipal ownership of street railways.

Bishop Vellatee of Michigan has been excommunicated because he espoused Socialism. Can't check it that way.

The Socialists of Belgium like their comrades everywhere are progressive. They have launched a campaign for universal suffrage.

The other evening Job Harriman spoke in Chicago to an audience numbering 10,000. His theme was Socialism.

Prussia owns 30,268 miles of her railroads, while 2,498 are owned by private companies. The government is after this also.

Norway has adopted the eight hour system on all public works. Where ever Socialism has a foot hold, the laboring man is the first benefited.

The opposition parties are somewhat warmed over the growth of Socialism in this country. It is very likely that the Socialist vote will be a surprise.

Private ownership of public utilities aim to give as little service as possible for the most money, it sacrifices efficiency for profits. On the other hand public ownership means the greatest service for the least money, sacrifice of profits for utility.

The Baltimore & Ohio railroad company has distributed circulars among its employes forbidding them to accept nominations for public office. It urges them to beware of Socialists and Socialism. In slavery days it was a crime to teach the black man to read. Intelligence is a dangerous thing to industrial slavery.

The weather Bureau is completing arrangements whereby weather forecasts will be delivered to farmers on free rural mail delivery routes. Socialism never takes a backward step. Improvement is its order of business.

The Omaha (Neb.) Non Conformist one of the ablest weeklies in this country is out for Socialistic propaganda. They are coming brother, and the light of New Day is breaking. Hold the fort for they are coming.

The Review is radical but not intemperate. It is not fighting men but a system. The Rockefellers and Carnegies are logical results of our economic system. Why then abuse these men?

Auburn, Me., owns its water plant. Besides giving its citizens a cheap service the net revenues to the city last year was \$9,000. Socialism is profitable to the people.

The socialists of the Argentine Republic have held a national convention and organized for an educational campaign. Socialism has the world for its field of operation.

Marshalltown, Iowa, owns its lighting and water plants. The experiment has been so successful there that every one is wedded to this brand of Socialism.

The International Typographical Union has decided for Socialism. This is the most powerful labor organization in the world. Let us repeat. It is coming.

Remember that every article published in the Riview is written expressly for its readers. If you receive a copy it is an invitation to subscribe.

THE LOVE OF MONEY IS THE ROOT OF ALL EVIL

BY C. PUTNAM.

In the influence and effect of capital exists an element of force and in accordance with the moral regulation of that power the effect will be good or evil. When actuated by the supreme selfishness of greed it becomes the instrument of extortion of bribery and oppression; but when controlled by the great principle of just reciprocity its bestowal is doubly blessed in the holder and the partakers of its beneficent advantages.

In the financial regime of our civilization, money or money value is the basis upon which all capital is reckoned, and in the non-ethical workings of an unscrupulous commercialism the love of it becomes "the root of all evil." It is not an idle or unsupported charge to make against the conventionalisms of business relations that we are generally governed by the like motive and impulse that prompted Simon to offer money to Paul for the power of laying on of hands, and that we suffer the logical consequence of being "in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity."

It is one of the most common facts of observation and experience to witness in the ordinary transactions of life a want of candor and truth and that in all the emotional phases of social in-

tercourse we simulate feelings according to a received standard that are accepted only formally and subject to the reservation of doubt. How often alas! are we filled with pain and our peace and happiness broken by a more general application of the words of Isaac to Esau "thy brother came with subtlety and hath taken away thy blessing!"

Not in all the history of this people previous to the present administration have our brethren of subtle propensities, the Jacobs of finance been so successful in circumventing the government, in undermining the rights of the people and extorting from them the essential conditions of birth-right, of liberty, equality and justice. They have pledged to us their reasonable service, but they are so manipulating the products and profits as rapidly to come in possession of all the Kine. The billions of capital that are centralized into trust formations are not only robbing the people, but they are controlling legislation, corrupting the courts, prostituting religion and paving the route of this government toward the logical destiny that has strewn the course of time with the wrecks of nations. There is a law that governs the growth and de-

cay of nations and that law is a part of nature's invincible force which millionaires can neither stay nor avert.

How strange it is that notwithstanding these unfortunate facts stand out to the unmistakable observation of all, that in the precedents of history, a deadly parallel is found in the decline of the Roman Empire, that our gospel teaching condemns them and that our boast and confidence is the moral influence of our civilization is belied and stultified thereby; yet so comparatively few are wrought up to a religious conviction of the supreme importance of the matter.

The evidences of decline are certainly not wanting if men will but cast aside their political bias and the influence of optimistic conventionalism that spread beguiling charms over their daily walk, and study conscience-free the questions of the hour.

I would not be guilty of undue sensationalism, yet even that is less harmful than a criminal conservatism that makes possible an unchecked course of downward tendency. But I am strengthened in my own convictions by the fact that a few of God's messengers to man are inspired with an unction that lifts the spirit of their mission and with clearer conceptions of of right denounce the political crimes of the century.

The historian says of Cicero, "His letters indeed to familiar friends, and especially those to Atticus, place the real man before us, and lay open his very heart". This some historian makes Cicero to say in a letter to this same Atticus. "But adieu to all right, true, honest counsels: since those who have no power will not love

me, my business is to acquire the love of those who have: you will say, I wish you had done it long ago; I know you wished it; and I was a mere ass for not minding you." Such a surrender of principle to policy was not uncommon even with the grandest Roman of them all. However ingeniously framed the excuses of his friends may be they cannot find justification in all the codes of ethics both human and divine.

It is true that he lived in a time when power was the only safeguard of an honor nominally given and money was the only means of attaining that power, when passages in the Sibylline books were forged for a purpose and the guardians of those books were suborned to testify those passages to be genuine; when as history says "the most remarkable repulse was of M. Cato for the praetorship, which was given to Vatinius, from the best citizen to the worst," and then to protect that Vatinius the senate unblushingly passed a decree that the praetors should not be questioned for bribery after their election; when judges were bought, the sacred precincts of the temple invaded, the offices of religion prostituted and no scruples whatever contravened the use of money for any purpose from the purchase of power to the procurement of murder. Yet how could Cicero aspire to an honor that meant collusion with the most profligate abandon in all that pertained to true glory and honest manhood? But the crowning infamy of of the use of money under the prevailing power of militarism, the very power we have reason to fear, was the putting up at auction and selling for

cash to the highest bidder the imperial title of Roman Emperor, and that too after the deliberate murder of the reigning Pertinax.

Men of political aspirations had separated all philosophy from the practical life, all ethics and all religion were but mere form and pretention, were perverted to uphold vice even more than to support virtue because the trend of power was almost universally vicious. The multitudes who were innocent of this prevailing hypocrisy and ignorant of the unscrupulous designs in political life, were held

in the chains of bigotry to uphold the forged authorities of religion and defend a suborned priesthood.

In view of all these facts, that are not out of relation to American progress, it is a small thing that men of today who assume the title of respectability, who jealously stand upon the question of honor and manhood, who vaunt a patriotism more laudable and heroic than their fellows and who even pose in the livery of the gospel, will lightly flaunt the excuse that "when in Rome we must do as Romans do?"

TWO QUERIES

BY JOHN SWINTON.

All accounts from India have agreed that there was plenty of grain in the markets of the famine-stricken country. While millions of its inhabitants were dying from hunger. The food was in sight in the cities, but it was held at prices which the starvings could not pay.

Now, were not these miserable millions guilty of violating a prime law of nature and morals in permitting the heartless speculators in grain to cheat them out of their lives?

Take an other case, the news which recently came from Alaska to the New York Evening Post. In the middle of the Alaskan town of East Nome, where gold-seeker were lately plentiful, there was a fine well, which had been dug in the sand, at some time unknown, probably by the natives, and everybody at East Nome used this free water without question.

But on the 18th of June last, a steamer took to the place a passenger who had a lot of lumber, and who at once built a wooden house for himself over the well, after which time he retailed the water at five cents a bucket, which, strange to say, the people paid, saying they were glad that he didn't ask two bits a bucket. It seems that the well was on a "claim" under his control.

Now did not these people look silly, when seen at a distance? Would they not have been justified in ordering the fellow to clear out of East Nome, that they might freely enjoy the fine water which he monopolized through legal humbug, and in using his misused lumber for fire wood during the cold weather?

POPULISM VERSUS SOCIALISM

By W. H. JENKS.

Let us accord to men and political organizations honesty of purpose. Let us think of others as we would have them think of us. When we can apply this new Golden Rule, we are prepared to investigate and seek truth. When we make up our minds to forget that we are partisans and agree that we are only brothers, all honestly endeavoring to build a governmental fabric that will be a blessing to us and posterity, and then begin to enquire, it will astonish the most of us to find but little substantial difference between parties.

Let us investigate the creed of Populism and determine wherein it differs from Socialism. Populists believe in government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and city ownership of all municipal franchises. This is the faith that Socialists are contending for.

Populism says that whatever can be best done by the whole people, should be thus performed. So say the Socialists.

Socialists believe that the circulating medium of the country should be issued and controlled by the Government. To this Populists everywhere will say, amen. Both believe that the banking business should be done by the Government.

Both meet on common ground on direct legislation, that is, the initiative and referendum.

There is no disagreement on the question of equal opportunities to all.

Populists have not yet devised a very clearly-defined plan of accomplishing this. Socialists have forged ahead. They propose that private ownership in lands and all natural elements of wealth should be taken away from the individual and vested in society and that nothing but the use should be granted to the person. That the user who develops and applies the products of these natural monopolies should be entitled to the profits of his labor.

Socialists do not believe in the abolition of ownership in personal property, but they do maintain that no man has a moral right to take the profits of labor because under present conditions that man has a "corner" on opportunity—which he calls capital. Opportunity is the only capital. It should be open and free to all, and every man given a chance to keep the profits of his labor. Socialism means the largest development of individuality. Under capitalism there is no individuality for labor. He is a mendicant and pensioner upon the boss' bounty. The trusts confront the

Populist, and his party has suggested a remedy, but Socialism says the trusts are in the wrong hands—that these great capitalistic combinations (cornered opportunities) should be owned and operated by the Government for all.

These are the main features of Populism and Socialism.

The only difference between the two political systems is that Socialism is more elaborate and at the same time has more concentration in the right direction than Populism. While I have been affiliated with the Popu-

list party, I want to say here that the reading and dissemination of Socialist literature will not disturb Populist doctrines. I have for the past five years been studying Socialism and have grown stronger in my faith because from Socialist journals I obtain facts and figures that the Populist press neglect.

In conclusion I fail to see any substantial difference between Populism as taught by the Farmers' Alliance and modern State Socialism.

Montgomery, Ala.

RECRUITING SONG

BY THOMAS M. KILLICK.

Oh, my comrades, let your vision
Note the strife of man;
Truth and Right held in derision,
Tyrants in the van.

CHORUS—Lift a voice for Love and Duty,
Brotherhood and Right.
Sing a song of Hope and Beauty,
Liberty and Light.

Arm yourselves with Truth Eternal,
Dare the taunting sneer;
Praise the God of Love Supernal
Casting out all fear.

CHORUS—Swell the ranks for Love and Duty,
Brotherhood and Right.
Ours the cause of Hope and Beauty,
Liberty and Light.

Let us then, for strength uniting,
Falter not nor swerve.
In that only fight worth fighting
We for life will serve.

CHORUS—Strike a blow for Love and Duty,
Right shall vanquish Might.
Clear the way for Hope and Beauty,
Liberty and Light.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND INHUMAN WRONGS

By A. Steadwell

In a former paper it was shown that the very existence of every member of the human family so absolutely depends upon access to land and its products that the dispossessed are wholly at the mercy of the possessors. To coin a word it makes them land-slaves. Therefore land monopoly is the most inhuman of wrongs the "Pandora's box from which comes every ill that flesh is heir to." This assertion may be thought too sweeping, but just think how universal it is, every civilized nation having become a "particeps criminis".

The taking possession of unoccupied territory, or the acquisition of inhabited lands by treaty, might be justifiable; and even conquest would lose some of its atrocity, if the land when acquired was held sacredly for the use and sustenance of the people who inhabit it. But unfortunately government has utterly ignored the right of the individual to any portion of, or interest in, the public domain. Even our boasted free government has assumed the right to arbitrarily sell it in unlimited quantities to individuals, corporations and syndicates; and to the railroads it has given an amount greater than the area of the thirteen colonies. All these sales and bequests, it has conveyed in fee simple, and has granted and confirmed to the

holders, the legal power—not the right—to exclude all others from the use or occupancy of these government-granted monopolies.

This participation in, or rather this inauguration of, private property in land by the government, greatly complicates the difficulty of righting this great wrong.

Equity seems to demand the return—or at least the offer to return—of the amount wrongfully received for the people's heritage. The improvements belong absolutely to the legal holder and may be transferred to the government for a consideration or not, as the parties in interest may decide, but the unearned increment, i. e., the increased value created by the growth of society, belong just as absolutely to the public, for the inexorable laws of ethics say: the thing created belongs to the creator. In the May number of the BELLAMY REVIEW, Comrade Dorsey formulates a plan for reclaiming the lands of the country, in which he says: "appraise the lands at their cash value, exclusive of improvements." The cash value of agricultural lands depend upon fertility of soil, and proximity to a good market. The advantages of good markets result from the growth of society in fact are the creation of society, and therefore belong to it,

and not to any individual. Fertility of soil is an inherent condition of the land, inseparable from it, and belongs with the land to society at large.

The same may be said of timber, coal, oil, or mineral lands, etc. But no land has any "cash value" until some one wants it for use, and the more people there are who want it the higher goes the market value, until in the congested centers of population a complete covering of the land with gold dollars would hardly buy it. Thus it is evident that to appraise and to pay for the lands at their present "cash value" would be for society to buy what belongs to itself alone, and for the land holder to sell what never belonged to him.

He further says: "Issue bonds for payment of same," etc., but fails to make it plain how this transfer of ownership is to be effected. Reading between the lines it would seem that he would have government take over the land at once, and pay the holder the assessed valuation—"will he, will he?"

This would create more friction than to pass laws creating conditions that would make the land-holder willing to transfer it to the government. How can this be done?

1. By a constitutional amendment. The second clause of section 3 of Art. 4 of the constitution would probably give congress all needful power but to remove all constitutional quibbles, something like the following is recommended:

Art. 16, Sec. 1. All land, or lands within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States equitably belong to

the whole people of the United States collectively.

Sec. 2. No public lands shall hereafter be sold, given away, or in any way alienated from the people; but government shall forever hold them in trust for the use and benefit of all.

Sec. 3. Congress shall enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

2. In order to enforce this article, congress should create a land redemption department, with full power to redeem all lands offered, at a price not greater than that received for them; to take, hold, and foreclose mortgages on lands and improvements; to buy improvements upon land relinquished to government at an appraised value when offered and to sell the same to actual settlers at cost and to provide for the assessment of all lands public, private, corporate, or any other claimant, and fixing the tax or ground rent for each subdivision according to its productive value irrespective of improvements.

Laws should also be passed rendering illegal and void all conveyances of land thereafter made, by deed, sale, gift or bequest, except to the government, and all lands, at the death of the legal holder should escheat to the state.

The most equitable and efficacious manner of exercising this taxing power would be the system recommended by the late Henry George, one of our ablest modern economic writers, which is substantially this: to tax all lands exclusive of improvements, according to their natural and (socially) acquired productive capacity, or their current rental value, paying no heed to the alleged owner, not dispossession-

ing him, but having him free to hold it, and to pay the assessed tax, or abandon it, or any part of it to the government.

The plan here proposed differs from his in giving the holder a right to claim the original price of the land, but in either case a failure to pay the ground rent within a specified time would work a forfeiture.

Of course all would not or could not become agriculturists, or even home-builders, but all should have the privilege of becoming such upon the payment of the lowest practical ground rent, and they should be made perfectly secure in their holdings so long as this ground rent is kept up.

To this end the ownership of permanent improvements, use and occupancy, and the payment of the assessed rent, should give a claimant a first and indefeasible right to hold the land.

Under this system the public would become the sole landlord, and every member of society—even the renter himself—would receive his equal share of all the ground rent on every acre occupied.

The signs of the times plainly indicate that this reform must come. It is the safety-valve for the terrible pressure upon labor. Heretofore our pre-emption and homestead laws have operated to some extent in that way, but the preemption law has been re-

pealed, and such lands as are still open to homestead entry are not suitable for agriculture.

Besides there was a radical defect in those laws, in that they recognized the principle of private property in land, and gave the holder power to sell, and this power has been very generally exercised, for within the range of the writer's personal knowledge, nine out of every ten homesteaders are now renters upon their own, or some one else's homestead. Ever since cunning Jacob swindled his brother Esau out of his birthright, there have been—and still are—cunning Jacobs, and starving Esau's and if it were possible to divide the land equally and give Esau and Jacob an equal portion, with the right to sell Jacob would soon have Esau's portion.

This is the argument relied upon to show that Socialism must necessarily be a failure. The system must be radically changed. Give every man the right to occupy as much land as he can profitably use and pay ground rent upon, but deny him the power to sell this birthright, and in time the army of unemployed would dwindle to a corporal's guard, the weary search for a job by the incipient tramp would cease, the break-bar tourist would no longer make his pleasure excursions, and the back-door-hand-out would become a dim reminiscence.

BOOK REVIEWS.

"MORNING ECHOES."

Among the many productions of which Nebraska is proud are her men and women.

One of these, who has an especially bright future, is John Edward Morgan, of Clarks, Nebraska. He is a young man of great ability, as is clearly shown by a book of poems he has recently published entitled "Morning Echoes." Any one reading his book could not fail to recognize the insight and feeling of the true poet.

Mr. Morgan's poetry is optimistic in character and his style is original and pleasing. Poets sometimes seem to be gifted with the spirit of prophesy. The author presages better things to come. The following is taken from "The Better Way ."

Don't you think my toil worn brother,
Heart o'erburdened with distress,
Don't you think there is a better.
And a nobler way than this?

Surely man was never placed here
Just to drudge a hopeless slave,
Not to know a moment's pleasure
From the cradle to the grave.

Surely 'tis not God's intention
Ceaseless toil our lives shall wear
Till the faltering heart beats fail us,
Stifled by consuming care.

Gave He life that ageing sorrows
Be strewn broadcast o'er the earth?
Surely for a nobler purpose
Great Jehovah gave us birth.

Beasts and reptiles of the forest
Are not given to distress.
Groveling worms find life enjoyment,
Did He create man for less?

Lowly worms find place to riot,
Beasts that roam the fields are fed;
Man, created in His image,
Famished, falls in want of bread.

Preach the zealots, "earth is groaning
Neath the old Edenic ban;"
Answering comes the vital question,
Cursed by God or cursed by man?

God provides with lavish bounty;
All things at our feet are laid;
Not his will that one should hunger,
Not his will that one should need.

Man, grown stronger than his fellow
Hoards what God provides for all,
One usurps enough for thousands,
One grows fat while thousands fall.

Slaves to customs of the ancients,
Wedded to old wornout lies,
Grope we in the fathers' footsteps,
See we with the fathers' eyes.

Dare we turn our back on custom
Face about and start aright?
Dare we look toward New Zeland?
Dare we follow in her light?

There's a better way before us,
Love and brotherhood in store,
Let us hasten the "New Era,"
Let us leave the barren shore.

This poem is an answer to the question so often raised—Is there no other way? Mr. Morgan's poems are not mere creations of fancy, given to the world simply to entertain. They are crowded with real, living facts. They are missionary in design and are sent forth to accomplish a great good. Their object is to dispel despondency and to elevate mankind.

Mr. Morgan is a native of Nebraska, as he states in his "Lines on Nebraska." He is the real Simon Pure article. Here are his own words for it:

Some twenty years I've hung my hat
And trousers in Nebraska.

In fact, my parents tell me that
They found me in Nebraska.

They say in eighteen seventy-two
When fields were white with drifted snow,
One bitter night they heard me crow,
On the prairies of Nebraska.

I guess from all my parents tell
I first met them in Nebraska.

I found them spry and looking well,
As all are in Nebraska.

It was the month when syrup thickens,
And it freezes like the dickens,
When began my birthday lickin's,
In Nebraska.

And first, just let me tell you, sir,
I like it in Nebraska,
And mean to stand right up for her—
My native state—Nebraska.

To me, no other clime so fair,
 No other land so rich and rare,
 No paradise found anywhere,
 To equal old Nebraska.

Is there something good you haven't got?
 You'll find it in Nebraska.
 There is nothing good that we have not
 Got got here in Nebraska.
 Fairest clime beneath the sun;
 Wealth enough for every one;
 Health? We've got it by the ton
 Out here in Nebraska.

Some folks we've got who say they guess
 They'll have to leave Nebraska.
 They've got the fever for a mess
 Of pottage 'cross the border.
 They'd better ponder Esau's fate,
 And get its lesson through their pate
 Ere they long and mourn too late
 To come back to Nebraska.

What do we lack that heart can ask,
 Right here in Nebraska?
 Tourists by the hundreds bask
 In the sunlight of Nebraska.
 Talk about Italian skies,
 Zephyrs, too, that gently rise.
 Why their glory blinds your eyes
 At times here in Nebraska.

Many of his poems deal with the social problems and show that he has carefully considered them. This class of poems are of a serious turn. Some of them are pictures of life and the contrasts offered. He makes the picture as plain as only the poet can. In his "Wrongs of the Age," a vivid picture is drawn of the present times, and in closing heralds the new era that is about to dawn, when selfishness and greed will be things of the past; when they will no longer be called into requisition as weapons of self-preservation.

We are living in an age
 Bright with lore, but foul with wrong.
 When the weak must constant wage
 Freedom's battle 'gainst the strong,
 When, the voice of conscience mute,
 Justice slumbers heedless on.
 When the instinct of the brute
 Drowns the judgment of the man,
 When Preferment walks the earth,
 Seeking out the rich and great,
 Branding all of humble birth,
 "Victims of the will of fate."

See the coffers of the rich,
 Teeming with ill-gotten store.
 See the houseless, hopeless wretch
 Begging bread from door to door.
 See the cockscomb called a king,
 Grinding out a people's fate;
 See the cringing, wretched thing
 Begging alms at Splendor's gate.
 Oh the world is upside down,
 Brute is master man is slave;
 Virtue stoops to plait a crown
 For the forehead of a knave.

The poem concludes with a bright picture of the good things in store for us:

But the glorious morn is breaking
 That shall speed the "New Time" in
 Soon will be a mighty waking
 'Mong the sleeping tribes of men.
 Man, in man shall find a brother,
 And shall learn a brother's worth,
 In one happy fold shall gather
 All the warring tribes on earth.
 Truth shall light the way before us
 As we march a myriad strong,
 And shall rule and reign victorious
 O'er this old world freed from wrong
 Then shall be restored lost Eden,
 Where life's tree shall bloom again,
 In the world's best federation—
 Love and brotherhood of man.

The above verses will serve to give an idea of Mr. Morgan's delightful volume. It will be readily seen that in Mr. Morgan's verse there is a feeling expressed that can only come from the deep well springs of the emotions which belongs to the true poet.

PERIODICALS.

Public-Ownership, Erie, Pa., is one of the brightest Socialist weeklies that comes to this office. It is only 50 cents a year but a high class journal of Social progress. BELLAMY REVIEW and Public Ownership both one year 75 cents.

The Burwell, Neb., Mascot and New Era, Sargent, Neb., have declared for Socialism as the only way out. When you have read "An Hour with Edwin Markham" by Lydia Kingsmill Commander, in last issue, make up your mind that it is the brain workers who are directing this movement. The anarchists believe in individual competition and no law. The trust magnates are law breakers and so are the anarchists.

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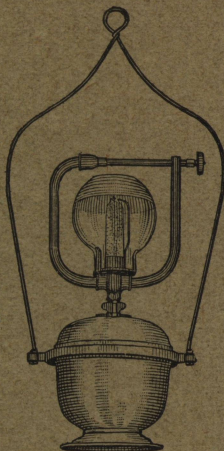
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